

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

SAM-01 DRC-01 /162 W

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P R 182055Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2052

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 65

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2405

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING MARCH 15, 1974

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK, EASTERN AND WESTERN REPS, MEETING IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, ARGUED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. THE ARGUEMENTS PRESENTED BY BOTH SIDES WERE FOR THE MOST PART THOSE ALREADY USED, AND VERY LITTLE HEADWAY WAS MADE. IN GENERAL, THE EAST ARGUED THAT AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAD TO BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS SINCE THEY WERE ESSENTIAL PARTS OF THE DEFENSE FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WESTERN REPS ARGUED THAT THE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCES SHOULD BE ELEIMINATED SINCE

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A CONFLICT IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD PROBABLY BEGIN ON

THE CONVENTIONAL LEVEL. IN A VILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN SOVIET AND US REPS, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO PUSH THEIR MODIFIED SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL, WHILE US REP STRESSED THAT THE ONLY ROAD TO THE WESTERN EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS DESIRED BY THE EAST WAS VIA PRIOR US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS. IN THE SECOND INFORMAL SESSION OF THE WEEK, THE SOVIETS SUGGESTED THAT THERE SHOULD ALSO BE AIR AND NUCLEAR CUTS IN THE INITIAL SYMBOLIC STAGE. IN THIS WEEK'S SINGLE PLENARY SESSION, THE EASTERN SPOKESMAN SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME ATTACKING THE WESTERN ARGUMENTS CONCERNING GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES. THE LUXEMBOURG REP PRESENTED WESTERN VIEWS ON VERIFICATION. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT

1. ONCE AGAIN THIS WEEK, THURSDAY'S PLENARY SESSION WAS THE ONLY ONE HELD. THE EAST CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE PROCEDURE, HOWEVER, OF FIRST ANNOUNCING A PLENARY FOR TUESDAY AND THEN CANCELLING IT AT THE LAST MINUTE IF NO ONE WISHES TO SPEAK. CZECHOSLOVAK REP KLEIN DELIVERED THE EASTERN STATEMENT THIS WEEK. KLEIN BEGAN WITH WHAT HAS BECOME A REGULAR FEATURE OF EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS: A CALL TO THE WEST EUROPEANS TO DECLARE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE PART IN FORCE REDUCTIONS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. KLEIN PICTURED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT INVOLVED ONLY CERTAIN COUNTRIES' ARMED FORCES AND ONLY CERTAIN COMPONENTS OF THOSE FORCES. KLEIN DEALT AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH WITH THE WESTERN POSITION ON GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES. KLEIN CONCEDED THAT THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE IS CONSIDERABLE, BUT HE ADDED THAT "WE ARE NOT LIVING IN THE AGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS". HE CLAIMED US MILITARY TRANSPORT CAPABILITIES MADE GOOD THIS US GEOGRAPHIC DISADVANTAGE AND ARGUED THAT, IN FACT, THE DISTANCE CONSTITUTES AN ADVANTAGE SINCE ATTACKING AIRCRAFT STATIONED IN CENTRAL EUROPE DO NOT HAVE THE RANGE TO REACH THE US. THE SOVIET UNION, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS EMINENTLY ACCESSIBLE. KLEIN STATED THAT, IN CON-

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TEMPLATING THE REINTRODUCTION OF TROOPS INTO CENTRAL EUROPE, THE ALLIES WERE BUILDING THEIR CASE MAINLY ON THE NEGATIVE CONTENTION THAT AN MBFR AGREEMENT MIGHT BE VIOLATED. THE EASTERN STATES, ON THE OTHER HAND, ASSUMED THAT ALL PARTIES WOULD OBSERVE AN AGREEMENT.

2. THE TWO INFORMAL SESSIONS THIS WEEK DEALT WITH

THE INCLUSION OF AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SOVIET, POLISH, AND CZECH REPS TOOK PART FOR THE EAST AT BOTH SESSIONS. FOR THE WEST, US AND UK REPS WERE PRESENT AT BOTH SESSIONS, THE NETHERLANDS REP ATTENDED THE FIRST SESSION AND THE BELGIAN REP THE SECOND. EACH OF THE MEETINGS WAS A STANDOFF. THE TWO SIDES PRESENTED THEIR STANDAR ARGUMENTS FOR THE INCLUSION OF OR EXCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, WITH NEITHER EAST NOR WEST SHOWING ANY EVIDENCE OF SUBSTANTIVE FLEXIBILITY. THE EAST ARGUED THAT SINCE AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS FORMED AN INTERGRAL PART OF THE DEFENSE SYSTEMS OF BOTH EAST AND WEST, IT WAS ONLY LOGICAL TO INCLUDE THEM IN REDUCTIONS ALONG WITH GROUND FORCES. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ALSO MAINTAINED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF INSTABILITY IN THE AREA. THEY ALSO WERE THE WEAPONS WHICH CAUSED THE GREATEST PUBLIC CONCERN. PUBLIC OPINION SIMPLY WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND IF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. IN BOTH SESSIONS, EASTERN REPS PUT MORE EMPHASIS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAN ON AIR FORCES, AND THEY MADE CLEAR THAT THEY ENVISAGED INCLUSION OF BOTH NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS AND WARHEADS. WHILE THE EAST ARGUED FOR OVERALL PARITY IN THE REDUCTION AREA, THEY REFUSED TO APPLY PARITY TO INFIVIDUAL FORCE COMPONENTS. FOR ITS PART, THE WEST ARGUED THAT THE WAY TO REDUCE THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BEING USED WAS TO CON DISPARITIES, SINCE EAST-WEST HOSTILITIES WOULD PROBABLY BE INITIATED ON THE CONVENTIONAL LEVEL AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND SESSION, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE EAST WAS WILLING TO TAKE ALLIED INTEREST IN GROUND FORCE REDUCTION INTO ACCOUNT BUT THAT THE WEST WOULD HAVE TO TAKE EASTERN

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INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO HAVE ANY OUTCOME.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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P R 182055Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2053

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 66

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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FROM US REP MBFR

3. IN THE FIRST SESSION, EASTERN REPS DID NOT SEEM TO BE WELL PREPARED. WHILE THIS HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT REMEDIATED BY THE SECOND SESSION, KHLESTOV MADE REFERENCES TO CENTRAL EUROPE AS A POSSIBLE "DEMILITARIZED ZONE" WHICH INDICATED THAT HE HAD BEEN BADLY BRIEFED. IN BOTH SESSIONS, THERE WAS SOME DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE GREATER EMPHASIS PLACED BY THE POLES ON INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BECAUSE OF THEIR INTRINSIC DANGER AND THE SOVIET ARGUMENT THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS NATURALLY SHOULD BE REDUCED BECAUSE THEY FORMED PART OF THE ARMAMENTS OF BOTH SIDES. IN THE FIRST SESSION, POLISH REP STRULAK ARGUED FOR THE INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON A MORE EMOTIONAL LEVEL THAN THE OTHER EASTERN REPS. IN THE SECOND SESSION, STRULAK ARGUED FOR THE INCLUSION OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE THE MOST DANGEROUS PART OF THE NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. KHLESTOV SPOKE MORE IN TERMS OF A SYMBOLIC NUCLEAR ELEMENT IN A REDUCTION AGREEMENT.

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SION OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE THE MOST DANGEROUS PART OF THE NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. KHLESTOV SPOKE MORE IN TERMS OF A SYMBOLIC NUCLEAR ELEMENT IN A REDUCTION AGREEMENT.

4. IN THE FIRST INFORMAL SESSION THIS WEEK, EASTERN

REPS HAD LEFT IT UNCLEAR WHETHER THE MODIFIED SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL THEY HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING DURING THE INFORMAL TALKS WOULD INCLUDE AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AT THE SECOND INFORMAL SESSION, HOWEVER, THEY INDICATED THAT SMALL SYMBOLIC AIR AND NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS WERE, INDEED, A PART OF THEIR SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL. IN A BILATERAL MEETING WITH US REPS THIS WEEK, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO PRESS THEIR MODIFIED SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL. US REPS POINTED OUT THAT THE ONLY ROAD TO WESTERN EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS WAS VIA A PRIOR PHASE OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

5. EARLY IN THE WEEK, CANADIAN REP GRANDE BRIEFED THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION ON THE COURSE OF THE INFORMAL

SESSIONS SINCE THE LAST ALLIED BRIEFING OF THE ROMANIANS. ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THE BRIEFING AND SAID HE WAS STILL RECEIVING FAR MORE INFORMATION ON THE INFORMAL SESSIONS FROM THE ALLIES THAN FROM HIS WARSAW PACT COLLEAGUES. ANINOIU REITERATED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE INFORMAL SESSIONS, BUT DID NOT ON THIS OCCASION THREATEN TO RAISE THE MATTER IN A PLENARY. DURING THE COURSE OF GRANDE'S BRIEFING, THE ROMANIANS HAD SEEMED PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF A "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" BETWEEN PHASES AND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO PLACE LIMITS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THE REDUCTIONS AREA.

6. ASSESSMENT: THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL SESSIONS CONTINUED THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEY AGAIN PROVED THEIR VALUE IN THIS SENSE. WESTERN REPS MAINTAINED CLOSE COHESION IN REJECTING INCLUSION OF
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AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. BECAUSE THE EAST WAS WILLING TO DEBATE THE ISSUE OF THE POSSIBLE GENESIS OF WAR IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WESTERN REPS WERE SOMEWHAT UNEXPECTEDLY SUCCESSFUL IN FOCUSING THE ARGUMENTATION ON THE THEME THAT THE IMBALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES WAS THE MOST DANGEROUS ELEMENT OF INSTABILITY IN THE AREA. TRINKA

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